

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 642

October 15th, 1948

THREE PENCE

HILSEN TIL VORE DANSKTALENDE VENNER

PEACE NEWS er udgivet i England, men det er læst i mange andre Lande over hele Verden. Vi haaber i Fremtiden at vinde flere udenlandske Venner i flere Lande, for Idealet til hvilket Peace News er tilknyttet, kan kun blive forstaaet, naar den noedvendige Enighed af Humanitet spredes imellem Folk af alle Nationaliteter. Vi ser frem til en Verden, fra hvilket Krig er udelukket og et nyt Samfund etableret. Vi haaber, De vil blive interesseret i Peace News, og vi sender Dem vore broderlige Hilsener paa Peace News Vegne og Sagen til hvilket vi er tilknyttet.

Pacifism On The Air

HOPEFUL SIGNS OF REVOLT AGAINST WAR

FOR the first time for ten years, the case for Christian Pacifism was heard on the wireless last week. In the course of three talks on "The Church and the Atom," Dr. Alexander Wood (Chairman of Peace News, Ltd.) and Prof. D. M. Mackinnon "put the position" (in Dr. Wood's words) "held by those who feel a clear call as Christians to witness against war by refusing all voluntary participation in it and to witness for peace by giving themselves to every kind of constructive and reconciling activity."

The Report of the Archbishop's Commission, Dr. Wood pointed out, maintains that self-defence may justify even indiscriminate slaughter by the atom bomb. "Is there then no point," he asked, "at which the Christian Church may be called to say, 'This is an act so evil that it would be better to accept defeat than do it?'"

"What would happen if a nation renounced war or even the atom bomb? No one can say, of course. It might break the vicious circle of fear and suspicion, but no pacifist who tries to be realistic will assume this. The nation that so acted would be exposed to the possibility of enemy occupation and . . . occupation is not merely a matter of tyranny, subjection and humiliation. It involves the possible re-education of a nation and the conditioning of the minds of its youth by all the apparatus of propaganda and suggestion now at the disposal of a totalitarian power.

"Yet it must be remembered that on many occasions in Nazi occupied countries men and women put up an unarmed and costly defence of the things they believed in, and pacifist elements played some part in this, notably in Norway. The information now available about the struggle in that and other countries is very relevant.

AT AMSTERDAM

"Nor is it without significance that the memorandum which called for a consideration of the Christian pacifist position at Amsterdam was signed by outstanding Christians from Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany and the Netherlands—all of them countries which suffered under Nazi occupation. These men knew what it was to face deportation and the concentration camp. They bore their witness to what they believed to be the true nature and function of the Church, their convictions are unshaken and they have earned a right to be heard." "The Church," declared Prof. Mackinnon, "exists in part to manifest to the world, albeit in a splintered reflection, that ultimate love whose expression in time is found in the Crucifixion. . . . Is the fulfilment of such a function compatible with assent to the thing we call atomic war?"

He suggested that such assent "must infect and poison the spring of that compassion for men and women in their deepest needs that Christian men and women are called to show." It was not the theologians' duty to justify the powers that be, but rather "to strengthen the revolt

against such things as atomic war that is surely there in the world.

"It is a revolt which takes many forms but is ultimately one in conviction that human beings were not made to do these things to each other. Is not the presence of this temper of revolt, widely dispersed as it is, in origin and in emphasis, one of the few really hopeful signs in the West to-day?"

The Pledge and The People — I

IF MONTY HAS HIS WAY

Rev. Richard Lee

MAJOR LEWIS HASTINGS in a recent broadcast said there were two kinds of people who were deluded, those who thought a world war inevitable and those who deemed it unthinkable. Lord Samuel in a House of Lords debate has denounced as criminal this belief in the inevitability of war. To deem it unthinkable may not be criminal but it is incredibly foolish. To stand idly by and do nothing is to help to make war inevitable.

There is a great body of people in this country who shudder at the very idea of another world war. But shuddering is not much good. We want to enlighten the minds and stiffen the wills of this great army of shudders. Let me indicate the sort of folk who should be moved by our appeal to renounce war and choose the way of peace.

These are tens of thousands who took the pledge at the call of Dick Sheppard. Some held aloof from the last war and since then have become passive without any power of resistance. If they remain passive now, they betray the finest impulse of their lives.

FORK OF THE ROAD

There are multitudes of Christian people who realise, as Amsterdam affirms, that war is un-Christian. If that affirmation means anything, it should mean the renunciation of the evil thing. Christian ministers are at the fork of the road. I know that many are exercised in their minds as to the policy of backing up the debasing welter of brutality and falsehood called modern war.

There are Socialists who have been taught that war is the outcome of rivalry in the possession of territory and wealth. They have supported two world-wars as blind sheep. Yet some are opening their eyes and wait for a lead in a new way of life for the nations.

There is a great multitude of the common people who hate war but know of no alternative.

All these the PPU National Council calls upon to make a great witness for peace.

First of all, we want to revive the

Let Britain Lead

THE Religious Society of Friends is gravely concerned at the growing tension between the nations. We are sure that while emphasis on fear will augment this tension, only in growing confidence can it be resolved.

We therefore welcome the appeal of Mr. Bevin in Paris, "Let us open up our countries to inspection, all of us. Let us open up the world, let light and knowledge come in, and let us see what others are doing—and the question of physical armaments will settle itself."

We believe that a moral lead would add greatly to the growth of confidence. We therefore urge the British Government to declare that this country will neither manufacture nor use atomic or bacterial weapons.

We are confident that this would help to ensure a balanced consideration of any proposals for a drastic cut in armaments as a whole. It would also contribute to the solving of the underlying conflicts of aims and purposes between the Eastern and Western powers which is essential to permanent peace.

This appeal was recently sent to Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister and to Mr. Bevin, the Foreign Secretary, by the Meeting for Sufferings of the Society of Friends (which is the Quaker executive committee).

The World from Paris

IT should not be so, since the world's a sphere, but always it seems to me to look a little different when I see it from a different place. Now I am in Paris, and from my table in the Café Deux Magots, the world I see is not what I see from my windows in London or Oxford. Somehow from here the Russians seem a little less sinister, and the Communists more amiable. And though the domestic crisis for France seems near at hand, the Third World War looks rather more remote.

UNO, of course, is down the road at the Palais de Chaillot. Architecturally, the Palais is an improvement on the gyroscope factory on Long Island where UNO has hitherto met. But the procedure is the same old business of translation into three languages and public speechmaking

COMMENTARY

by

MAURICE CRANSTON

—no genuine diplomacy. I agree with Harold Nicholson's suggestion in the Spectator (Oct. 9) that the meeting would have been more usefully held in Berlin, and with a suggestion he made two years ago, that UNO would do better to meet in secret. Since the present proceedings are meant for the Press, I find them most interesting to read about in the Press. So I sit here with my café-fine and a pile of French newspapers, contemplating the world. Contemplating, more precisely, Le Monde, for this is nowadays the most reliable of Paris papers, besides which Figaro (the paper Mauriac writes for), Ce Soir, Paris Presse and the Continental Daily Mail are so much make-weight.

Fair hearing

FRENCH newspapers can at least give an objective report on Russian suggestions for disarmament. Such suggestions may be a fraud. I suspect they are. But the British and American Press are wrong to treat any and every peace plan emanating from Russia as if it were a monstrous bluff. Western democracy is not worth the name if it cannot give a man a fair hearing. One has only to read the French newspapers (and they have faults enough, heaven knows) to realise that our English papers do not give the Russians a fair hearing. Perhaps they never did. In the war, everything was biased in favour of Russia. Now everything is biased against her.

Here in Paris the presence of UNO has caused no excitement. Parisians, unlike New Yorkers, do not care to gaze at statesmen. I think we have had rather more spectators here at

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

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1940 AND ALL THAT

"I HAVE not always been wrong," says Mr. Churchill, and no doubt the adoring multitude at Llandudno, all hot from *The Gathering Storm*, adore him still more for his modesty. Theirs not to reason why no Red Gestapo prevents him discrediting Britain in the eyes of America; why India fails to run blood, though spared a policy of armed repression; why his war-time forecasts of East-West relations have confessedly been falsified in every particular; why—but the list could be extended for ever. No, Mr. Churchill has not always been wrong; but the occasions on which he has been right are so few as to seem like flukes.

One has only to contrast those forecasts of his with the exact estimates of the balance of power presented by Pandit Nehru in *The Discovery of India*—and that at a time when British jaijais barred him from all first-hand knowledge of current events—to realise the massive ignorance that distinguishes Churchill's world-outlook. For him, contemporary history is merely the sequel to some Fourth Form History of England dimly conned in the 1890's; a record of kings and conquests, culminating in the majestic drama of Winston Churchill in the Second World War—has he not said that everything since 1940 seems an anti-climax?—Churchill's finest hour is by definition Britain's.

And yet, this superannuated egotist is accorded the authority of a veritable Nestor. Even mildly critical newspapers like *The Times* and *The Manchester Guardian* pay tribute to his "companionship with history," his "realism"! It would be inexplicable, were there not evidence that even less realistic outlooks prevail.

The following, for example, is the conclusion of the *Times*'s comments on Llandudno:

"The strength which will achieve the lasting truce that Mr. Churchill, like all men of good will and wisdom, seeks in a divided world will not be the rattle and flourish of bombs but the solid strength together of military preparedness, economic recovery, and spiritual rebirth."

Leaving aside the question of "spiritual rebirth," which in this context is about the emptiest phrase that ever parted an orator's lips—can *The Times* or any other oracle tell us how military preparedness and economic recovery are to be achieved together?

In his Commentary this week, Mr. Maurice Cranston gives a fair idea of the factors that have driven, and continue to drive, the industrial workers of France into the Communist fold. At no time since the War, not even with ERP, have the French workers received wages sufficient to offset the continually soaring prices. Communism, in France, is the ideology of hunger and desperation.

To imagine that such a country either would or could take part in a war against Russia is as idle as General Juin said, when he refused "to be placed in command of an army which is virtually non-existent and which would go down in defeat immediately the first blow was struck." And yet, at the very moment when France is once again paralysed with strikes, the proposal is seriously raised that a large proportion of the fund assigned to European recovery should be diverted to the purchase of armaments.

General Juin is said to anticipate a high position under De Gaulle. But if De Gaulle imagines he has the answer to the fundamental problem of Western Europe, he is deluded as completely as the frock-coated anachronism at Llandudno. There is only one answer to this problem, and economic necessity itself is conspiring to confront us with it: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him . . . Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

DEPORTING EX-POWs

MICHAEL SORENSEN does not appear to have read very carefully the article which appeared over my initials on Oct. 1. I hope he will do so. May I be permitted, however, to make a few comments on what he writes:

1. The word *deportation* was correctly used as any good dictionary will inform him. It means "forcible removal, generally out of a country." *Repatriation* is not so good. True it means "returning one to his native country" but it is usually used of people stranded abroad, such as sailors paid off in a foreign port. It has not the essential element of compulsion which is present in this case, and is the very thing to which I object.

2. It is wrong to insinuate that these men are "idle and selfish." No doubt some of them have inclinations that way (as I have myself) but life in an agricultural camp in Scotland does not give much scope for indulging them. Most of the men are afraid to go back to Russian occupied territory. Either they have a political record or they think that they would be sent to forced labour in the uranium mines or elsewhere. To what extent these fears are justified is beside the point.

3. In this country the men can, and do, save and scrape to send parcels of food and clothes to help those at home. From Russia or Western Germany this would not be possible.

4. I am not unaware of the complications which such a vast preponderance of women must inevitably cause, but the problem cannot be solved by compelling a large number of men to go and live in the country, or by permitting a large number of the women to come here. In any case the "wretched German widow" who is quoted does not want men, but a man who, pity her, will not come again.

5. The major population problem in Western Germany is still the vast number of refugees. Many thousands are in concentration camps, and more and more are still coming over the frontier, bringing nothing

to places with already insufficient food or shelter. Why add thousands more to them when they could and would do valuable work in this or some other country. The picture of them rebuilding Germany's devastated cities is an attractive one, but on the other hand they may either do nothing, or under allied supervision join the many who are busy dismantling her essential plants.

T. R. D.

11 Greenwood Gardens, N.13.

Why they should stay

ANYONE reading Michael Sorensen's letter might be forgiven for imagining that the case of German Civilian Workers (ex-PoWs) was exactly the same as that of the German PoWs, i.e., men desperately needed in their own country and wishing to return, but being detained against their will. The opposite, however, is the case.

Having returned from relief work in Germany and being now Warden of a Hostel containing German Civilian Workers, I wish to point out that those who elected to remain as Civilian Workers had very good reasons for their choice.

They can be divided into three groups:

- the largest group, men whose former homes are in the Russian Zone or in those parts of Germany occupied by Poland. For the former it would be dangerous and for the latter impossible to return to the places they came from;
- the Sudeten Germans and Volksdeutsche (from Rumania, Hungary, etc.) who are not permitted to return to their former homes, and
- those whose homes were in one or other of the three Western Zones. Of these some have lost their homes, and relatives through bombing, others remained here because they could better assist their families as a result of regular employment.

Those who have homes to go to and the prospect of employment are free to return home, but I might point out that the chief troubles in Germany are not due to lack of manpower, but to lack of raw materials and to the housing shortage. Even in centres where labour is needed, the overcrowding in the bombed towns prevents the transfer of labour from other places where there are unemployed.

I am afraid also that many of the

Gandhi and violence . . .

READING your report of the Gandhi Birthday Meeting at Friends House, I find it difficult to ascertain whether the words within inverted commas are those of Jawaharlal Nehru or Horace Alexander. However, of more importance is the relation of those words to the mind of Gandhi.

Ahimsa does not permit of violence in any circumstances. A Satyagrahi accepts this truth and acts upon it in a natural way. The conduct of one who is not a Satyagrahi cannot be examined by the standard of Satyagraha.

Mahatma Gandhi's preference of violence to cowardice is neither an injunction nor a law of condonation but simply a statement of degrees of two evils.

SYED ABDUL HUCK.

28, Holyhead Road,

Coventry.

(The words were, of course, Horace Alexander's.—Ed.).

... and the PPU

AS many pacifists seem to identify "passive resistance" or "civil disobedience" with the non-violence which will always be associated with the name of Gandhi, may I be allowed to remind them that Gandhi himself laid considerable stress upon the "constructive" side of non-violence. He even went so far as to say, "Anyone who believes that, without the backing of the constructive programme, he will show non-violent strength when the testing time comes, will fail miserably."

And, even when it is being used for a purely obstructive purpose, i.e., as "passive resistance"—Satyagraha demands from its exponent a very different technique of behaviour from the one most of us are accustomed to employ in our every-day lives.

In this connection Gregg says: "Before groups can successfully use non-violent resistance, individuals must understand and become disciplined and practised in it." and when the Sub-committee on Non-Violence issued its findings, a few years ago, some of

us wrote to suggest that if the PPU proposed to adopt "non-violent resistance" as part of its over-all policy, it should take steps to organise suitable study and training among its members. But, having done nothing to ensure that its own members "understand and are disciplined in it," is the PPU really in a position to commend non-violence to others?

Surely it would be more honest to state quite clearly that what is being offered the public as an alternative to war, is "passive resistance" and not non-violence as Gandhi understood and taught it?

ANDREA S. HOLBROW.

Benenden, Kent.

Fined for life

IF a war pensioner is imprisoned following conviction for an offence, his pension is liable to forfeiture at the discretion of the Minister of Pensions.

Only public ignorance of the potency of this obnoxious provision excuses its survival.

The customary decision of courts to inflict a fine or a term of imprisonment may thus become one of a sentence of imprisonment plus a lifelong fine. Such a double sentence is inflicted by two distinct courts, acting independently, and upon a man who has already suffered severe affliction in the compulsory service of the society sitting in judgment.

What evidence exists that this discrimination against recipients of pensions from public funds serves any useful purpose? The legislation of long-past Parliaments which pitchforked the Minister of Pensions into assuming a judicial function alien to his administrative duty should be amended.

SAM WALSH.

16 Mornington Road,

Bolton, Lancs.

Query for Clergy

IF any non-pacifist clergyman should read these lines, he might care to consider the following query. Many leading churchmen take the view that (i) War is contrary to the spirit of Christ; (ii) Nevertheless circumstances may arise which make it necessary to engage in war.

Very well. Let the same ruling

PEACE WEEK

PEACE Week has come and gone, but the week is only the preliminary to our national campaign which must absorb all our time and energy during the next weeks.

A special campaign committee has been appointed and Headquarters will do all they can to make plans and prepare the posters and literature required.

You can encourage them very much if you will send a gift to H.Q. Fund. We need all your help and every penny you can spare if Peace Week is to become a NATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

MAUD ROWNTREE,

Hon. Treasurer.

Contributions since October 1: £14 12s. 3d. Total for 1948: £193 7s. 11d.

Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund" to the Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

ex-refugees (whom I did as much as most people to help when they came over here) are not being of much assistance in redeeming the soul of Germany. Many of them are in fact aiding and abetting the German Communist Party in its efforts to oppose the introduction of democracy (as we understand it) into Germany. Our best ambassadors are those former PoWs who leave this country of their own free will.

The compulsory return of men who have no prospects of a home life in Germany will not improve good relations between us and the people of Germany. They can only be herded into camps and most of them have already spent the best years of their lives in camps of one kind or another. By remaining here until they can be absorbed into normal German life they would assist not only this country, by helping to produce food, but be helping their own country as well.

All we ask is that no man should be made to leave this country for Germany who has not the prospect of employment and a place to live in. Amongst the Volksdeutsche are many who have never been in Germany in their lives and who can scarcely speak any German at all. Will their wretched wives in Rumania, Hungary, or in Russia be helped by their being sent from here to camps in Germany?

WM. J. LYON.

hold good in matters of everyday life. A good churchman, through no fault of his own, finds himself in financial difficulties, endangering the welfare of his family. He finds that by embezzling his employer's funds, he can solve his difficulties. He reasons that (i) Dishonesty is contrary to the spirit of Christ; (ii) Nevertheless, circumstances have arisen in which it is necessary, in order to protect my family, to act dishonestly.

Do the Bishops approve? In a sentence, will they condone "unavoidable" dishonesty as well as "unavoidable" war? It will probably be said that the two cases are entirely different. I suggest, however, that the identical question arises in each case, i.e., is a Christian at liberty to deliberately engage in a line of action contrary to his Master's teaching and example?

TOM SULLIVAN.

31 Knockbreda Park,

Belfast.

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RENAZIFICATION

by Harry E. Moore.

YOU read rightly "Re" not "De." The following verse has just reached me from a German writer of cosmopolitan standing living in the British Zone, who kept his head through all the troubles he faced in his native country:

Back are all our Nazis now,
Braun and Schmidt and Neustling,
Easily denazified,
Alibis all certified,
Soon again with Mars allied,
Hitler they'll be heiling.
Stealthily and overnight,
Back to power mincing,
Democrats now every man,
Certified by clergyman,
Genuine, no bogeyman,
Questionnaires convincing.
What a cheery lot they are,
Sweet their tone caressing,
SS ever as of old,
Shepherding again their fold,
Here they are again, all told,
Proferring Nazi blessings.
So, my democratic friend,
In their trap you're captured,
Trustful, hopeful, innocent,
Till you found your Nazis bent,
Everywhere fresh on the scent,
Swastika-enraptured.

My friend writes:—

"The Nazis are creeping out of their rat-holes. When you read abroad of our political condition in Germany, it is not to be expected that you get the right picture. Your occupation officers, too, do not see things as they are. It may be better in certain large towns, but that is not the overall condition.

"I had occasion to write to our local official quarter and at the same time spoke about some of our old Nazis in a way that was all too called for. I now know that this letter of mine is in the hands of the individuals about whom I wrote. Such indiscretion, or rather treachery, is possible when eight or nine local officials are old Nazis. And all under the eyes of the occupying power.

"I was a member of the Denazi-

Save Europe Now

URGENT LAST APPEAL

THE fact that Save Europe Now is to close down in the Spring of 1949 does not mean that there is not a great need to be met in Europe this winter.

An especial need is for food, money and clothing for the tubercular and pre-tubercular in Poland, Germany, Austria and other countries. SEN has launched an autumn campaign for this and other purposes. Donations of money should be sent to, SEN European Relief Fund, 15, James Street, London, W.C.2. Rationed food, second-hand clothing and shoes to SEN c/o Davies Turner and Co., Bourne Street, Pimlico Road, London, S.W.1 or any local depot.

The decision to terminate the work of SEN unless anything unforeseen occurs, was taken at a London Conference on Sept. 25. Societies such as the Friends Service Council will continue to collect second-hand clothing and shoes so long as they are needed. "We have been an 'extra' organisation," says a SEN statement, "created by 'extra' needs and an extraordinary situation." The ending of SEN will not mean an end to relief work or to the need for support and contributions for such work.

fying Commission and there met with the craziest experiences. So I withdrew. It is true that the Nazis are not yet in power, but their friends are, and these take their orders from the Nazis."

Other German friends write in the same vein. I am fighting for a German teacher, Catholic, denazified these three years, but still unable to get a post. He has a wife and two children depending on him and is in great distress. Can it be believed in Britain that he is blackballed as "Un-German" because he has active contacts with Youth and Peace movements in England, France, America and Finland, and receives Peace News? My last move was to appeal to his highest German superiors; Christian and professional. The country con-

Last week Hubert Butler reported his meeting with Yugoslav pacifists, when in that country, and the hopeless position into which the Church drifted through its justification of war. Report on Yugoslavia will be concluded in two more weekly parts.

CLOSE-UP ON HYDERABAD

From Nancy Richardson

Ramnad, S. India.

ONE needs to travel half across the world to discover how necessary it is, when viewing international affairs, to take into consideration one's angle of vision.

Reading in the Madras Mail recently a summary of the views of the British Press on the recent events in Hyderabad, one realised suddenly that here in India the problem is viewed at a more acute angle than that at which it is seen some thousands of miles away. No suggestion is intended here that the man on the spot has necessarily a more accurate view of the events being considered, but that sharper more personal aspects do certainly alter the whole scene.

Seen from this angle, some few hundreds of miles only from Hyderabad, the entry of the Indian troops into a desperately disordered State, followed as it has been by the Nizam's

cease fire order, gives some hope that at last our friends in the villages in Hyderabad will be free from marauding bands of men, all one may say in uniform, who descend on the villagers, burn the houses, pillage goods, not to mention killing and raping the inhabitants.

It means also the hope that once again both Indians and Europeans will be able to travel safely on the railways without the fear that in all probability their train will be held up, sometimes set on fire and all their luggage destroyed, or, as happened to an Indian girl friend, one wakes in one's compartment at night to find one's suitcases being removed by men who have climbed in by the window.

Whatever may be the rights of the Nizam's case, and, however, as pacifists we may regret the use of force, there is no doubt that the state of unrest in Hyderabad has been alarming for some long time, because the Nizam either has not been able, or has been unwilling, to keep internal order in one of the world's richest states.

From our angle, India appears to have acted with some sense of realism and one feels that the great majority of the Indian world is behind their Government. Now we wait anxiously to see if India can carry out her great plan and quietly restore order without the use of violence. The real problem will lie in the town of Hyderabad itself, which is predominantly Muslim, as against the five per cent. minority.

GERMAN W.R.I. ORGANISE FRONTIER GATHERING

FORTY visitors from nine different countries gathered in Aachen recently for an international frontier gathering, organised by the German section of the War Resisters' International.

Near the Belgian frontier a big public meeting was held and addressed by speakers from Holland, Sweden, and Germany, on the theme "Are we good Europeans." One speaker, Dr. Nikolaus Ehlen declared that peace meant more than the absence of war, it meant being fully alive, and showing continual readiness to sacrifice in the way shown by Gandhi and others.

Frontier gatherings have always featured prominently in the activities of continental peace organisations.

Report on Yugoslavia II

I THINK we should face honestly the fact that in Yugoslavia at any rate, the established Churches were helpless. When I was in Zagreb I spent several days in the public library looking up the old files of the newspapers that were issued in the occupation period, particularly the Church papers. I wanted to see what resistance, if any, was made by organised Christianity to the ruthless militarism of Pavelitch, the Croat national leader, and his German and Italian patrons. I am afraid the results were disheartening.

I did not expect to find outspoken criticism or condemnation in the Church papers, because if it had been published the papers would certainly have been suppressed, but I was not prepared for the gush of hysterical adulation which was poured forth by almost all the leading clergy upon Pavelitch, who was probably the vilest of all the war-criminals. He was their saviour against Bolshevism, their champion against the eastern barbarian and heretic, the Serb. He was the restorer of their nation and the Christian faith, a veritable hero of olden times.

Christianity betrayed

Many of us believe that the Christian idiom is still the best in which peace and goodwill can be preached. I doubt now whether it is even wise for us to use the language of Christianity. I do not think we can talk to the Yugoslav about Christianity till all the vile things which were said and done in the name of Christ have been acknowledged and atoned for. I think the bitter hatred which is felt for the churches in Yugoslavia is inflamed by all the lies and dissimulation about these things, by the refusal to admit that the Christian Church during the war connived at unspeakable crimes and departed very far from the teaching of Christ.

The principal church in Croatia is of course the Catholic Church but I do not think the Christian failure there is attributable to any specifically Catho-



(Crown copyright.)

Partisan forces marching through liberated Belgrade in 1944.

lic disease. There was also a small Protestant community, whose published utterances make as horrifying reading today as anything in the Catholic papers. Their disgrace is smaller only because there were fewer of them.

The mistake they all made was that they believed that the survival of Christianity depended on the survival of their churches and they were prepared to sacrifice truth and charity to an almost unlimited degree, if they felt they could forward the interests of their particular confession. Instead of resisting absolutely the rise of national hysteria and hatred they thought they could guide it into sectarian channels; they believed and said that Hitler and Mussolini and Pavelitch were instruments in the hands of God for the establishment of His Kingdom. Unsatisfactory instruments perhaps, they might admit among themselves, but God has power to turn Evil into Good.

In fact, as one reads through these

THE CHURCH REAPS HER HARVEST

tianitatis, once more the bastion of Christianity against the heathen; whenever he visited a monastery or a convent he was received with enthusiasm and extraordinary reverence.

The compliments and speeches which were exchanged on those occasions have been collected and published by the Yugoslav Government, but they can be easily verified, as I did for myself in many cases in Zagreb in the back files of the newspapers in which they were always reported. For Pavelitch was very proud that his work should be blessed in this way. The most remarkable of all these omissions was the 22 verse ode to Pavelitch of the Archbishop of Bosnia, Mgr. Sharitch, which was published in several papers in his own diocese and in that of Mgr. Stepinac of Zagreb.

Compulsory conversion

Pavelitch's terrible campaign of compulsory conversion of the Orthodox Christians resulted in some of the worst religious massacres that have ever happened in European history. The Churches have denied that the Croatian hierarchy had any responsibility for all this, but unfortunately the complicity of many leading churchmen is put beyond a doubt by their own printed utterances in their diocesan magazines and religious journals. Mgr. Sharitch applauded Pavelitch's appalling measures against the Jews. As far as I know he got no official reprimand for his behaviour from his superiors. He is in exile and is referred to in the religious press as a victim of Yugoslav and Communist slander and intolerance.

You cannot go very far in Yugoslavia today without coming across traces of these fearful days. I had an introduction from Grace Beaton, Secretary of the War Resisters' International, to a sympathiser with that movement, a very intelligent barrister. He told me that his three brothers had been murdered in Bosnia in the course of the conversion campaign, his sister had accepted conversion.

Pavelitch had managed to gain Church support by saying that Croatia was the *Antemurale Chris-*

SECRECY

MR. VISHINSKY knows down to the last man and to the last halfpenny what the United Kingdom is spending on armaments, what men we have, how we train them, what weapons they are using, and where they are. But will anyone, including even perhaps anyone from those States which are in the closest relations with the Soviet Union, tell us with any certainty where Russia's men are placed, how many of them there are, what weapons they have, and even how much Russia is spending on them?"

—HECTOR McNEIL, in the Political Committee on UN, Oct. 7, 1948.

I THINK I understand as well as the Minister of Defence can understand the difficulties of disclosing information, but I must point out to him that we seem to be carrying this matter of secrecy far beyond, as I believe, any necessary bounds. . . . I do not know whether the Government realise how completely ill-informed we are, not through any demerits of our own, but simply because we have not been told. We were very glad to hear the fighter squadrons flying overhead the other day . . . but that is the sum total of the information which most of us possess about the Royal Air Force."

—ANTHONY EDEN, in the House of Commons, Sept. 23, 1948.

DIG FOR VICTORY

ONE can tell by the way a man lays hold of a spade whether he is in a state of grace or no. If he wields it as though it is part of himself, with odd exceptions he is an integrated person. But many there are who just don't belong: the spade is an alien thing, the man's hold of it is wrong.

The value of digging lies more in the movement towards integrating a man than in the value of the food produced. Nothing increases one's sense of wonder more than the act of watching things grow, and actually to dig between the rows of any growing crop is the beginning of reverence. Even the man who talks in terms of so many tons per acre is not immune from a reverence for the simple beauty of growing crops, and there is a time when even a field of cabbages has its own form and pattern, its own validity.

We do a great disservice by nurling cheap jibes and sneers at humble toil. Unless we are blasphemous enough to pretend that a carrot is more than a carrot, a carrot can be left to have its own carrot perfection and a man can find fulfilment cultivating carrots of perfection. The "Dig for Victory" campaign preserved the sanity of many of us during the war and we cannot afford to be unmindful of it.

HUMBLE TOIL

It's the victory bit which is so vulgar. We don't want victories. Nothing is quite so spiritually vitiating as victory. If ever pacifism became victorious the result would be horrible, yet many pacifists are sustained by the notion that inevitably if slowly, pacifism must triumph. Probably many would find pacifism insupportable if there was the least doubt about its ultimate triumph.

The wisdom of those not ashamed to dig is expressed in their acceptance of the truth that there is no end to the need to dig. The land is dug and the spade put away but it is only a brief respite and out comes the spade again. Neither the land, nor the spade, nor yet the man, is ever left in undisputed possession. No. The weeds have to be uprooted, the ground kept sweet and clean, the spade sharp and free from rust, and the man integrated. From such a rallying point we don't either despair of mankind or despise it. We can say to men: Look here you fellows, we are digging for peace. Communism, Fascism, and what passes for democracy today, may

ALAS! WE ARE U.N.DONE

By HAROLD S. BIDMEAD,
Our Specious Correspondent in Paris.

THE Third Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations has opened here in a blaze of glory, the UN having, at long last, gone into action. At least, it requested the French Government to take action on its behalf, by evicting from United Nations territory Mr. Garry Davis, self-proclaimed citizen of the world.

It is significant that this eviction was an act which the Charter does not authorise UNO to take. As a spokesman explained to me, however, here was clearly a case for immediate action: there was no time to wait for the matter to be discussed in the General Assembly, and for that body to "make recommendations" (Article 17). This would probably have involved recommending the "Security" Council to make recommendations (Article 37, para. 2) or to decide (if it could decide, which is doubtful) to take action under Article 36. This Article, too, authorises the "Security" Council to make recommendations.

Mr. Davis had already announced that he was no more interested in recommendations than were the

Jews or Arabs, the Russians regarding Korea and Berlin, the Bulgarians, Albanians and Yugoslavs concerning Greece, the Indians over Hyderabad, the Dutch over Indonesia or the South Africans in the matter of South West Africa or of discrimination against Indians. Under Articles 42 *et seq.*, explained my informant, UNO had the power to "take action by air, sea, or land forces. . . . Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, etc.," but, in the words of Mr. Trygve Lie, UN's Secretary-General, "deadlocks have blocked all progress in the Military Staff Committee" and UN has nothing to demonstrate with. Even if they had, the probability was that the demonstrators would neutralise and paralyse each others efforts.

THE presence of a world citizen on UN soil was clearly a "situation which might lead to international friction . . . or likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security," since Mr. Davis was disseminating dangerous thoughts.

TWENTY-SIX-YEAR-OLD Garry Davis has officially renounced his American nationality and handed in his passport to the American Consulate here. "There is only one way to save our civilisation," he says: "Renounce narrow nationalism and out-dated, hypocritical diplomacy, which perpetuates quarrels instead of healing them. All men of good will should demand an international government. We should unite under just law, instead of splitting into national enmities which bleed each other white."

In diplomatic circles here, such remarks are considered rank heresy. "UNO, with its system of one state one vote, is the most democratic body in the world," said Monsieur Protocol, sipping his apéritif and holding a Corona-Corona between his elegant gold-filled teeth. "After all," he added, "the war was fought for democracy, was it not?" That the Grand Little Duchy of Luxembourg has the same voting strength as the USA on unimportant matters he described as proof that the rules of cricket were not unknown outside Britain. He pointed out, too, that on important matters, particularly matters likely to endanger the peace of the world, equality also prevailed, since nobody had any voting power whatever, or at least no State had any voting power that could not be completely nullified by the veto of another.

M. PROTOCOL was bitter about Citizen Davis's notion that international law should operate directly upon individuals. If that were the case, M. Protocol pointed out, war criminals would be arrested before the war, instead of afterwards, and the world would be deprived of such historic war guilt trials as were held, for instance at Nuremberg. The notion that international law should be enacted by an international parliament, elected for the purpose by an international electorate, M. Protocol denounced as undemocratic. "How could people be expected to obey laws which they had made themselves?" he pertinently asked.

UNO had been based on a belief in men's natural and inherent tendency to agree. That was realism. Mr. Davis was not only a dangerous idealist, he was a pessimist, spreading the doctrine that men are bound to disagree and that decisions must therefore be taken by majority vote in a voting procedure which truly reflects the political power behind each vote. Davis had actually repeated a slogan that "It is better to stand up and be counted, than to be counted whilst lying in rows under little wooden crosses."

AT Paris, UNO will be asked to approve the Secretary-General's Annual Report, reporting failure in Palestine, in Indonesia and Kashmir, in Greece and Korea; the collapse of the Atomic Energy Commission; the paralysis of the Commission for Conventional

Pastoral

A REAL VALUATION

A MAN'S life consisteth not in the abundance of things that he possesseth." Yet that, unfortunately, is the starting-point from which so many people frequently begin to calculate their own and others' worth. There is little disposition to inquire as to the quality of character revealed in the person or persons concerned, what is being made of life, whether their departure will leave a gap not easily to be filled. For the most part people's interest is with the worldly and material side of things, forgetful of what constitutes real worth.

A situation such as this denotes a very distorted sense of what is truly desirable, a completely false interpretation of values. If an individual is to be assessed at no more than can be measured by what he owns of this world's goods, it means that he is worth very little indeed.

It is the things which come out of life, those impulses and actions which issue from the secret chambers of a man's being, and not those which are superadded from without, that determine the kind of person he is. While a man lives he may win and lose everything save one—his personality. That is always his, something from which there is no escape. And in the final reckoning it is all he has. Personality is what we make each day we live.

Every man has what he deserves just because he is what he is. People who lived in the pre-Christian era were not a little perplexed by reason of what they deemed to be grave inequalities regarding reward and punishment. The righteous all too frequently appeared to suffer, whereas the wicked prospered. Why was it, they asked. Yet the same holds good today. And as a consequence it is argued that an individual is justified in resorting to whatever means may most advantageously serve his ends, seeing there is so little correspondence between virtue and success.

But is it not possible that a very important factor has been overlooked? Why should it be taken for granted that moral and spiritual worth must be rewarded with a parallel share of material good? They belong to wholly different categories. There is no virtue in doing what is right simply in order to acquire worldly gain in return. Such an attitude just destroys whatever of worth there might otherwise be in a particular line of conduct.

All that has been said regarding the real valuation of personal life applies with equal force to national affairs. Here, too, everything turns upon the moral and spiritual, rather than the material and secular issue. A nation's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that it possesses. It is this utterly false sense of values that has brought the world to the brink of the abyss; not until all those interests and relationships which affect mankind so intimately are seen in their true perspective, and measured according to ultimate standards of worth, will disaster be prevented.

REV. H. J. DALE.

Armaments; the one advisory opinion given by the International Court of Justice and its one (unfinished) case; the failure of the Military Staff Committee to create a law-keeping force; the failure of the UN Charter to provide a law-making body, and the proposal of the Interim Committee that the Charter be amended.

A resolution has been tabled to the effect that it was not the United Nations that failed the nations, but the nations that failed the United Nations. This represents an appreciable step forward since 1919-1939, when the League of Nations did not fail the nations, the nations failed the League of Nations.

A spokesman pointed out that Mr. Lie's opinion is that the Charter is "more than sufficient to deal with every situation which has come before the Security Council to date . . ."

It is not considered propitious to make any change in the present set-up. Delegates are having quite a gay time in Paris and hope to be back next year.

By Joe Watson

know what they are about, but if you want to get cracking on something really worth while, the job is to make of peace the passionate vital thing it is. Forget about the imminence of war and all the various arguments banded about war. Unless we begin to make peace a real thing it will become still more negligible and amiable than it is, and we will become negligible and amiable with it. In the state we are in now we deserve no better fate than to be ploughed up under the totalitarian tractor plough.

GET HOLD OF PEACE

We have to get hold of peace as though it belonged to us: make it our own, for the only kind of state worth living in is a peaceful state, a passionate, living, peace-state. And forget all we were ever taught about peace being perfect. The function of peace is to be peaceful, not perfect. And don't let us be preoccupied with how perfect we ourselves are. Get the virus of peace into your bones and you won't have time to contemplate your own perfectability, which after all is mere moral respectability, and you cannot dig properly in a bowler.

A healthy dose of peace will turn your eyes from the sinfulness of other men and lead you to dig an oasis of peace in a world at war. Any smart aleck can think up a slogan, but let us get a bit of life going first and the slogans will be all the more memorable.

And for the love of God forget about whether or no you will end up on the winning side, for the joy is in the work which needs doing, and joy in digging for peace is not only going to bring peace, but joy in the achieving of it. Seek ye first the Kingdom of Peace and the rest will be added to us. When Jesus said this of heaven he unleashed more dynamite than all the atom bombs ever made will ever exceed. It is time we got a little of that dynamite into circulation, in place of the nullifying niggling of old women.

FATUOUS OLD MEN

One gets sick of the threat of atomic war. One gets sick of the namby-pamby stuff which pretends it is peace. We hang on the words of a lot of fatuous old men who chance to be in office, and allow them to paralyse our every inspiration, while here we are in possession of a power which can gather men together for the purpose of integrating them. On all sides we hear it said: If the atom bomb drops there will be no life left within a radius of umpteen miles. So. But at the moment we have a lot of life in us.

What about leaping out with a spade, and starting work on the first heap we come to? If there is life in the digging, who can say what treasure a man will turn up?

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MUSIC & DRAMA

Things to come?

A GIANT'S STRENGTH. A Drama in Three Acts, by Upton Sinclair. T. Werner Laurie Ltd. 2s. 6d.

H. G. WELLS wrote *The Shape of Things to Come* out of his imagination—with which we might choose to differ. Upton Sinclair bases his prophecy and warning of the nature of a new war on established facts: the atomic bomb, the radio, and the American Way of Life. His play begins with the Hiroshima bomb and ends with the troglodytes of South Dakota after seventy-five atomic bombs have been dropped on the greatest cities of the world.

This may not be the best play written in America since the end of the war, but it is certainly the most important to us who are alive today, and ought to be performed as widely as possible. (As far as I know, it has not yet been produced.) It is true that the commercial radio programmes, which are the peg on which Sinclair hangs his play's structure, are mercifully unfamiliar to us in this country; but far from weakening the impact of the play this feature will probably strengthen it for others, as it did for me, by emphasising that seeds of war lie in unrestricted "free enterprise" and in the spiritual and moral decay of a civilisation whose basic values are those of money.

As in his *World's End* novels, Sinclair sets fictional characters against an historical background; but as much of the "history" involved lies in the future, he has to imagine this also. By letting us hear this future history only through the ears of the ordinary radio-informed citizen, and by blending plain statements of military action with uncertain speculations concerning their political meaning, he provides a background which is at once convincing and unspecific, so that the value of the play is unimpaired by day-to-day changes in the international situation.

This is a propaganda play; but it is propaganda for one thing only: LIFE. It is not concerned with Left, Right or Third Force.

"You, my little man," says Barry, the atomic scientist to his young nephew, Bub, "are going to live the rest of your life with one of those dreadful bombs hanging just over your head. You will never have it

entirely out of your thoughts." That is on VJ-Day. At the end of the play, Bub, hiding in the caves of the Black Hills, addresses a passionate appeal to the audience: "All you troglodytes, you cave dwellers! Stop killing one another! . . . Down with war, and the war makers! Down with them for all time!"

I do not know whether *A Giant's Strength* is great Drama. But it is great speaking. It is a cry like those of the Old Testament prophets. Rightly, it offers no political solution to the terrible problem it poses,

The New Lindsey Theatre has abandoned its plan to produce Upton Sinclair's new play about atomic warfare, "A Giant's Strength." The reason given for dropping it is casting difficulties. In America, theatre managers have already criticised the play as "too frightening to portray on an American stage." The play entails the destruction by atom bombs of American cities, and ultimately, of civilisation. It ends with the survivors of our civilisation hiding in caves. —Daily Herald, Sept. 25, 1948.

but the eternal solution: "Repent! Repent!"

Plays have never prevented wars in the past; but if there be any play that, if performed all over this country, might help to prevent the war which is threatening us, it is this play.

C. W. DAVIES

BRILLIANT, REPERTORY

THE Tavistock Repertory Theatre (at the Little Theatre, Tavistock Place, London) has opened a new season with a production of Shaw's *Candida*. Of this play there is little new to be said; the theatre's prospectus describes it as a "masterpiece which combines warm humanity with cool and brilliant thought," which is about as good a ten-word description as you could get.

Although there is now no point in recommending you to see *Candida* since the last performances are passed, attention should be drawn to the excellent work, continued over the years since 1932, done by this company. I was a frequent visitor in the years before the war and I can testify to the high standard of production and performance. I have not been recently but all reports—including my colleague's report on *Candida*—suggest that this high standard is maintained. There is no doubt that there is still, as there always has been, a high standard also in the choice of plays; many titles are from the world's greatest plays; others (as was last season's *Our Town*, which I would like the company to repeat) are plays of special quality which are almost or quite ignored by the ordinary theatre.

Performances are at the Tavistock Little Theatre at the beginning of each month: In November they give Pirandello's *Six Characters*, while the December choice is Robertson's *Caste*. Anybody who wants to become acquainted with this company might do worse than go to see Robertson's

play. Probably only one in a hundred of the people who talk glibly of this play being a turning-point in the history of the English theatre has ever actually seen it performed. It is a simple, almost faded, story; the dialogue is thin, sometimes naive, to modern ears. But the play is a little gem, and in the catalogue stands high for what it does to the audience, as well as for what it did to British drama.

TWELFTH NIGHT, New Theatre ONE difficulty about dramatic criticism is that so little is fact and so much merely opinion. Thus it is that a batch of critics can see a production and come away with wildly diverging views of it. I will therefore mention certain facts about this production, which I saw in Liverpool before it came to London.

Fact 1. I went to sleep during the first half. Fact 2. the entire audience tittered or laughed every time the scenery was changed. Fact 3. I would have slept much longer, only the tittering disturbed me.

It exposes, no doubt, a vicious streak in my character when I record my pleasure in seeing that for once the Old Vic has not got away with it, and that this production has been received with very modified rapture by the Press. Not that it makes any difference to the bobby-soxers, whose uncritical adulation was, I am told, shrieked at Mr. Alec Guinness—who-can-do-no-wrong, in the absence of Olivier the All-right. Well Mr. Guinness (a fine and sensitive actor) can do wrong: this production proves it.

His first mistake was not to have shot the scene designer (sic) and buried him along with his artistic creation (also sic; very sick). This genius (!) has produced a setting consisting of a pre-fabricated allotment shed and a pre-fabricated rabbit-hutch dumped in the centre of the stage, and these are continually being twisted and turned about, or sections are bolted back, and other running alterations made by the cast as they go along. Then comes the interval and in the second part we see the real extent of the designer's genius. He has obviously searched all his textbooks, read up Komisarjevsky, Stanislavsky and everybody else, searched for a really shattering notion and—the shed and the rabbit-hutch have swapped places. There's genius: There's glory for you.

But charity above all. There are one or two good things. Feste is beautifully played although—this is the producer's fault—he achieves a greater prominence in the play than Shakespeare intended. Cedric Hardwicke's Toby Belch is a rich characterisation; this is a knight really fitted to live in Olivia's house. In the process some of the roundness of the character is lost, and there is some over-repetition of quizzicalities. But it is an interesting experiment. Which is more than one can say of most of this production. Let it be buried in indecent obscurity.

Roger Page

Pacifist Profiles XI

SAMAR RANJAN SEN, Lecturer at Dacca University, is well known to many people in Britain, Switzerland, Scandinavia and India, as well as his own country of Pakistan, for his lectures on the Indian Independence Movement. These lectures were undertaken on behalf of the War Resisters' International, which he joined in 1938. Those delivered at the meeting of the WRI Council at Basle last year have appeared as pamphlets both here and in Belgium.

Samar Sen was not always a pacifist. In his youth, he belonged to a violent revolutionary party;



SAMAR SEN

but the demoralisation which accompanied its repeated failures to undermine British authority in India helped to convince him of the futility of terroristic methods. In 1932, and again ten years later when the "Quit India" resolution was framed, he took an active part in Gandhi's non-violent campaigns: and, he writes, "by contrast, those who struggled on the non-violent level seemed to emerge from one set-back only to undertake another effort with fresh courage."

A surprisingly large proportion of leading pacifists are distinguished in the field of letters. One thinks of Laurence Housman, Aldous Huxley, Eugen Relgis. . . . In 1937, Samar Sen was awarded the first prize in Asia in the World Essay Competition.

On the division of India after the War, he found himself, a Hindu Professor, situated in the capital of Eastern Pakistan. The terrible communal massacres that accompanied the partition, however, only confirmed him in his pacifist conviction. "The war inflamed the spirit of violence, and it is partly this for which, in the shocking post-war events, we are paying." His retention, by the Mohammedan rulers in a post of considerable influence, is itself a tribute to his own breadth of mind and integrity.

THE WORLD, THE FLESH AND . . .

THE article on Conscience and War which appeared in *The Friend* on Oct. 1, and was quoted in Bruce Odspur's Commentary last week, is, we are glad to learn, being reprinted as a leaflet. Copies will be obtainable from *The Friend* office, 8 Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1. The leaflet is free, as single copies or in quantities from a dozen to 50, but stamps for postage should be enclosed.

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MEETINGS

WRITERS, FILM Critics, Scientists, etc., on "The Approaches to Peace." Lunch hour meetings at Greyway Hall, W.C.2, on Wednesday, Oct. 27 to Dec. 15. Programme from National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

CENTRAL LONDON group meetings from Oct. 15 will be linked together under the headings of Social and Economic Life in England. 15: Local and Central Government, Councillor Dennis Allen; 22: The Administration of Justice, Bruce Campbell; 29: Financial System, William Barlex; Nov. 5: CO meeting; 12: Social Service and Education, Arthur Collis; 19: Industry and the Trade Unions, Nancy Edmonds; 26: Contemporary Culture, Jan Berg. 8 Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.

CITY FOR group. Percy W. Bartlett on "The Challenge of Amsterdam." Friday Oct. 22, 1 p.m. in vestry of St. Margaret's Church, Lothbury, E.C.2.

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MISCELLANEOUS

DETAILS OF exhibits for exhibition of home-handcraft, to be held on Nov. 13 at 8 Endsleigh Gardens, should be sent to Sidney Billson, 33 Compton Road, N.1., from whom particulars can also be obtained.

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French workers' desperate plight

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

Deux Magots this week than they have at the Palais Chaillot, for Mr. Charles Laughton is here making a film with Mr. Burgess Meredith. Their "existentialist" attire ("Plus vrai," is the Parisian comment, "que le vrai") attracts no attention, but the mechanics of film photography have become the talk, if not of Paris, at least of the Quartier.

Prices rocket

I WAS not in New York when the subway fare was raised from a nickel to a dime, but I do not imagine the repercussions of the change were great. Here in Paris, when the Metro fare went up from five francs to ten, it seemed as though the whole bottom had fallen from the economic structure. And, in a sense, it had.

It is absurd, as only French politics can be absurd, but after nine months of steady economic recovery, and after an excellent harvest, this October has been one of the blackest in the history of France. Prodigious efforts seemed about to be rewarded in the consolidation of the Fourth Republic. Instead, its collapse as a result of economic chaos is in sight. And nothing will accelerate the end more surely than the general belief in France that the end is coming. Recent calculations give 35 per cent. of French opinion for the Communists; 29 per cent. for De Gaulle, while the 36 per cent. which supports the Fourth Republic is divided between five or six different parties.

Socialists impotent

THESE figures do not mean that 35 per cent. Frenchmen are Communists. One thing they do mean is, as a Parisian factory worker said to me the other day: "The Communists are the only people who do anything for the workers here." French Socialists are virtually impotent. And the French workers are wretchedly badly paid—£14 or £16 a month is normal. The cost of living is rocketing upwards. Only the Communists and the Communist-controlled CGT has been able to mitigate the severities of the economic situation for the workers. So the worker who assures you that he is not a Communist, nevertheless adds that the Communists alone are able to look after him.

Nothing approaching 29 per cent. of Frenchmen would like De Gaulle to be dictator of France. But quite 29 per cent. are so afraid of Communism that they will back De Gaulle to save the country from Communism. Ask a comfortably-off Frenchman what his political sym-

pathies are and he will tell you he is a Radical, MRP or even Socialist, but he is likely to add: "I would rather have De Gaulle than Communism."

Another Weimar?

IS this situation not reminiscent of another, earlier crisis? Is it not dismally like that of the Weimar Republic in 1933? The majority of Frenchmen today like the majority of Germans in 1933 want to keep a democratic constitution. But on either side of the class-barrier there is fear of the other. And that fear is driving both to extremes. M. Queuille, like Herr Brüning, has the job of maintaining a moderate policy where the moderate parties cannot find in themselves the discipline that the situation calls for. The crisis is on the surface a political one, but M. transcripts of M. Queuille's speech Brüning's, has been economic.

On the hoardings of Paris there are transcripts of M. Queuille's speech calling for economic sacrifice to enable his Government to balance its budget. That budget has a deficit chiefly because of the huge defence bill and insufficiency of revenue from taxation. In the same speech, M. Queuille called for a halt to inflation. Yet his budget-balancing policy is itself inflationary.

"C'est normal!"

NOT only has the Government put up the Metro fares by 100 per cent., but the cost of rail fares, food, cigarettes and indeed all the necessities of life have gone up this month by an average of 30 per cent. Wages have gone up by 15 per cent. In some cases the increase has happened in the course of hours. Early this month I bought a sandwich in a bar for 40 francs. A similar sandwich in the same bar a few hours later was 75 francs. An acquaintance bought a shirt one Friday for 1,500 francs. On the following Tuesday a similar shirt was 2,100. The shopkeeper explained to him: "The Government increased our workers' wages. We increase the prices. C'est normal."

There are two elements in France's economic structure which are at once a source of weakness and of strength. The first is agriculture, the second the luxury trade. France has an almost ideal balance between agricultural and industrial output. Unlike Britain, France can feed herself. But the French peasants, incredibly rich in many cases, show no inclination to sell their produce at anything less than a handsome profit. The outcome is that Paris is without butter and milk, while dairy produce in the country is fed to cattle. The Fourth Republic was built by Socialists—for the MRP three years ago was Socialist as well as the Socialist and Communist Parties, and those three parties, between them controlled France. But the Fourth Republic is not being run by Socialists. M. Queuille is a Radical. So is M. Marie. A Socialist system run by non-Socialists can hardly be expected to work.

Black market

A MID decaying controls the black market prospers. The fashionable streets of Paris are alive with touts for foreign money. They come up to you and whisper "Change? Dollars, sir? Pounds, sir?" They are most of them Arabs. But they tell me they all work for Jews, and that a lot of the black market profits in Paris are spent on the clandestine armament of Israel.

Then there is the question of the luxury trade. This is one of the most important of all French exports. If France cannot sell high-priced clothing, silks, perfumes, wines, liqueurs and table delicacies, she can sell nothing. Thus, where Britain has cut down on luxury production, France has had to encourage it. The result is to emphasise the difference between the rich and the poor. In England people of all income groups live very much alike. In France, if you have money, you can live amply on every luxury that exists. Many people do. Thus they exaggerate the bitterness of the French worker, his discontent with his own meagre diet, and his sympathy for Communism.

In future, Mr. Maurice Cranston will be writing this Commentary fortnightly, in place of Mr. Bruce Odspur.

THE PPU IN ACTION

North London Peace Exhibition

THE National Peace Council and fifteen of the leading British peace organisations are co-operating with the Stoke Newington Peace Group in a Centenary Peace Exhibition to be held on Oct. 23 and 24 in Stoke Newington Friends' Meeting House, Yorkley Road, N.16, at 7 p.m.

With its theme, "One Hundred Years in the Struggle for Peace," the Exhibition will commemorate:

- the activities of Henry Richard, M.P., and other during the year 1848 which resulted in the holding of a Peace Congress in Brussels, described by Richard Cobden as "the protest of a minority against a system repugnant alike to humanity and commonsense," and
- all who since that time have given their lives for the ideal of a war-less world.

Speakers at the Exhibition on Saturday evening will be Fenner Brockway, Stuart Morris and Sybil Morrison, while pupils from Highbury Hill High School will perform an excerpt from *The Insect Play*.

On the following evening, two atomic scientists will speak, Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale—a Quaker and one of the few women to be elected a Fellow of the Royal Society—and Prof. H. S. W. Massey of University College, London. A third speaker will be Ann Fry, a young Stoke Newington mother and group member. There will also be a Peace Brains Trust, presided over by F. A. Lea, editor of *Peace News*.

Among the exhibits will be photographs and printed material illustrating the work of the peace movement in other countries, including the original sketches made by a French war-resister of his escape from Devil's Island in a rowing boat. Photographs will show the work of the two organisations awarded this year's Nobel Peace Prize: The British Friends Service Council and the American Friends Service Committee.

A youth session on the Saturday afternoon at 3 p.m. is to be addressed by Rev. Patrick Figgis and Miss Markham Hope following the performance of a play, which features Friends relief work, by the Oaks Players, a recently formed local dramatic society.

Goodwill messages have been received from Sir John Boyd Orr, Dr. C. E. M. Joad, Dr. Donald O. Soper, Sybil Thorndike, Lord Faringdon, Reginald Sorensen, M.P., Leah Manning, M.P., Fred Messer, M.P., Rhys Davies, M.P., Archdeacon Hartill, Vera Brittain and Clifford Curzon.

Reserved seat tickets, price 1s., are available from the Group's Hon. Sec., 79, Lordship Park, N.16.

Obituaries

REFUSED TO FIGHT IN BOER WAR

A VETERAN of the Pacifist Movement, Mr. F. G. Bing, of Eastbourne, died on October 2, aged seventy-eight years, following a serious operation.

Mr. Bing became a pacifist in early manhood as a result of reading the works of Tolstoy, and in the 1890's was an active member of the Brotherhood Church (a Tolstoyan Fellowship) in Croydon. He opposed the Boer War and remained true to his pacifist convictions throughout the rest of his life.

He joined The No-Conscription Fellowship in 1916 and was one of the most loyal members' and for some time Chairman of the Croydon Branch. He was a tower of strength to the younger members who were facing the results of refusing military service and supported them in their appearance before Tribunals and in the Police Court.

When the No-Conscription Fellowship was wound up after the war, Mr. Bing became one of the first members of The No More War Movement and worked for that movement until it merged with the Peace Pledge Union. He was active in the Eastbourne Group of the PPU until his death and was the local Peace News distributor until he went into hospital three weeks before he died.

In addition to his services to pacifism, Mr. Bing devoted time and energy to other social and educational causes such as prison reform, the Adult School Movement and the WEA.

His death will be a great loss to the causes he served but his life and work will remain an inspiration to all who knew him.

POWS' CRIPPLED FRIEND

Peace workers in Loughton, Essex, have lost a quiet and unassuming comrade in the passing of William Lee. He was a cripple and worked hard as a boot-repairer in a modest shop in the town. German POWs from local camps usually received a cheery wave from Mr. Lee before this greeting was given official sanction, later many of them called in at his workshop where his knowledge and skill were always at their service—often it is suspected at no cost to themselves. He leaves a widow and one son—and memories in the minds of many German guests.

H. A. F.

ONE OF THE FEW

Edwin Lappish, a CO of the 1914-18 war and one of the few who obtained unconditional exemption, passed away on Oct. 1 at the age of 78. His uncompromising anti-militarism has been an inspiring example to the younger members of the Brighouse PPU Group.

R. L.

Norwich hears pacifist case

THE need for control over our Press propaganda in times of political stress was emphasised by Dr. Alex Wood when he addressed a meeting in Norwich organised by the local group of the Peace Pledge Union.

"Is Peace with Russia Possible?" was Dr. Wood's subject. He declared that the situation in Berlin was partly the result of wrong political decisions taken during and after the war.

"We must not be self-righteous about the situation, as if the blame was all on one side. We must recognise that we too have made mistakes," he said.

Some of the positive suggestions he made were for more persistent efforts to show goodwill; the promotion of trade relations and more co-operation in the bodies associated with UNO.

Dr. Wood spoke in some detail of the difficulties of contact with the Russian people, but said that although he emphasised the difficulties, if we were persistent in our efforts to understand them they were not insuperable.

The chair was taken by Frank Sayer who explained the purpose of the Peace Pledge Union. The meeting ended with questions and discussion. P.B.

WOMEN'S PEACE CAMPAIGN

A meeting of local women, and delegates from various local organisations was held in the Weaver's Institute, Skipton, Yorkshire, on Friday, Oct. 8.

Ethel Lewis, a PPU member of Aylesbury, Bucks, spoke of the newly formed Women's Peace Campaign and appealed to all women to forget all other differences and to join together to become active in the cause of Peace.

She explained that this campaign was absolutely non-sectarian and non-political.

"If only the women of all nations would join together, with the one aim of 'No more wars' they could silence the war drums."

"The power of women today is undoubted and the slogan used in an appeal to women recently 'We cannot do without the woman' should remind women of the influence and power they have to hand."

A branch of the Peace Campaign was formed at this meeting and a further meeting will be held during the coming week.

The Chair was taken by a prominent resident and member of the Local Council.

WHITEWAY COLONY IS FIFTY

To mark their community's fiftieth anniversary, the Whiteway Colony will hold a reunion and exhibition of community life through the years on Oct. 30-31. Accommodation is available at the Whiteway Colony, Stroud, Glos., for a few people on the Saturday night. Immediate application should be made.

The infant mortality rate for the U.S. Zone of Austria was more than 110 per thousand in March, 1948. This is the highest recorded for this area. The corresponding figure was 60 per thousand in October, 1946.

CONSCRIPTION - WE SAY NO! A QUAKER APPEAL FOR THE ABOLITION OF MILITARY CONSCRIPTION

A PUBLIC MEETING

will be held at

Friends House, Euston Rd, N.W.1

on

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4th.

at 7.30 p.m.

SPEAKERS:

W. MAUDE BRAYSHAW

(Clerk of London Yearly Meeting)

WALTER H. AYLES

(M.P. for Southall)

KATHLEEN LONSDALE, F.R.S.

A YOUNG CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

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TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, October 15, 1938

The War Resister's International Group in Prague are arranging to receive a number of refugee children from the Sudetenland at their new home near the new frontier. It is hoped to maintain some twenty children at an expenditure of ten Czech crowns per day.

The popular cheering that followed the Munich Agreement is giving way to a mood suggestive of "the morning after the night before."

THOUGH YOU MAY BE RELEASED CONSCRIPTION HAS NOT ENDED!

October 16-23rd is

C.O. FELLOWSHIP WEEK

HELP THE YOUNG C.O.s OF TODAY BY GIVING YOUR KIND SUPPORT TO THIS SPECIAL EFFORT

Full details can be obtained from the

CENTRAL BOARD FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS
6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

(EUSTON 5501)

YOUTH CONFIRMS YOUR WITNESS!